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Students and America's Foreign Policy

SIX DISCUSSION OUTLINES
ON
THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL
RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by
THE WORLD COURT COMMITTEE
of the
COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

(PRELIMINARY EDITION)

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STUDY I.

What Kind of a World Are We Living In?

A. In what respects, specifically, does the economic world of today differ from that of 1875?

1. Why has the question of rubber and oil become an international problem?
2. What difference does it make to the wheat growers of America whether or not Germany recovers economically?
3. Why are citizens of the United States now investing a billion dollars a year in foreign countries?
4. "The people of the earth are inextricably interdependent economically." What evidence have you for or against the validity of this statement?

B. What is the most outstanding characteristic of the political organization of mankind today?

1. Why are there 60 nations in the world today?
2. Which of the causes of this fact are natural and which are artificial?
3. It is generally agreed that a nation has an absolute right:
 - a. To determine its immigration policy.
 - b. To set such tariffs as it deems necessary.
 - c. To maintain as large an army and navy as it desires.

This is called the principle of national sovereignty. Do not discuss the specific questions, but state what is to be said for and against this principle.

How far is "national sovereignty" an ultimate value?

C. What major problems of the world's life result from the clash of economic interdependence and national sovereignty? List at least four.

1. What reasons other than interest in the welfare of the Filipinos are influencing the United States to retain control of the Islands?
2. Why are the British tax-payers willing to spend approximately \$335,000,000 a year on their navy?
3. Why do the Great Powers feel justified in interfering in the internal government of China?

D. What do you consider the first step in resolving the conflict which has appeared in this study?

REFERENCES—STUDY I.

A. Economic.

Norman Thomas, "The Challenge of War; An Economic Interpretation." Complete treatment of the subject, in pamphlet form.

William Smith Culbertson, "International Economic Policies." The most complete and thorough study. The entire book is to the point.

*Achille Viallate, "Economic Imperialism and International Relations During the Last Fifty Years." Chap. 4. Also Chap. 3 on Investments.

G. Lowes Dickinson, "War; Its Nature, Cause and Cure." Chap. 7 on Imperialism, Raw Materials, Capital.

Kirby Page, "Imperialism and Nationalism." Chap. 4 on the Territorial and Economic Expansion of the U. S.

Chas. A. Beard, "Cross Currents in Europe Today." Chap. 9 on the Effect on the U. S. of Economic Interests.

Scott Nearing, "Oil and the Germs of War," pamphlet.

Herbert Feis, in *Foreign Affairs (American)*, July, 1925, pages 667-686, "Export of American Capital."

B. Political.

*Philip Marshall Brown, "International Society." Chap. 1 on Nationalism. Chap. 2 on National Interests.

"International Law and International Relations," published by the American Foundation (see Appendix). Part I—The Rights and Duties of a Sovereign State—probably the most complete and useful work on this particular subject.

H. G. Wells, "The Salvaging of Civilization." Chap. 3 on Patriotism, Sovereignty, etc.

G. P. Gooch, "Nationalism." A complete study.

Foreign Affairs (American), June, 1923, page 115, "Nationalism and Internationalism." A defense of modern nationalism.

John Haynes Holmes, "Patriotism Is Not Enough."

Hugo Krabbe, "The Modern Idea of the State."

C. Clash of Economic and Political.

*Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy." Chap. 1 on Results of Economic Interdependence and Political Division.

H. G. Wells, "The Salvaging of Civilization." Chap. 1 on the Probable Future of Mankind.

Jessie Wallace Hughan, "A Study of International Government." Chap. 6. A very thorough study.

Otto H. Kahn, "The Myth of American Imperialism." (Published by the Committee of American Business Men, 15 Park Row, New York City.)

Leonard Woolf, "Imperialism," a short but telling argument.

Ramsey Muir, "Nationalism and Internationalism."

J. A. Hobson, "Imperialism."

* Marks the best brief reference, which is particularly recommended if you cannot do any of the other reading.

See the Appendix for a list of the best books to buy for use throughout the discussion, and also a list of the best pamphlets available on the World Court.

STUDY II.

What Do We Need?

1. If our major international difficulties arise from the conflict between economic interests and political division, what would be essential in an adequate international organization?
2. What sort of international legislative machinery is required? How should it be constituted? What should be the scope of its activity?
3. Are permanent international executive officers required? If so, why? What would be their functions?
4. Is some form of international tribunal essential? If so, what should be its form?—its power and jurisdiction?
5. Why have treaties proved to be ineffective in preventing war and the evils of imperialism?

What is the significance of the proposal to outlaw war by an international treaty declaring it to be a public crime¹?

How would the acceptance of outlawry affect:

- a. Our present conceptions of patriotism?
- b. The present status of the soldier in society?
- c. The teaching of history in our schools?
- d. The work of our consular and diplomatic services?

6. How shall international organization secure the observance of international agreements? Is an international police force necessary or practicable? What other factors can be relied upon? What is the limit of the effectiveness of each?

¹ See Harmony Peace Program, p. 16.

REFERENCES—STUDY II.

- *Will Irwin, "The Next War."
Chap. 13 on Proposed Ways to Peace.
- Maurice Parmelee, "Blockade and Sea Power."
Chap. 18 on the Essential Features of the World State.
(See Chap. 19 for judgment of the League of Nations by this standard.)
- Philip Marshall Brown, "International Society."
Chap. 10 on International Organization.
- Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy."
Chap. 2 on the International Organization Necessary.
- D. Mitrany, "The Problem of International Sanctions."
- "International Law and International Relations," published by the American Foundation (see Appendix).
Part II. deals with the Procedure, Peaceful and Forceful, for Enforcing the Rights of Sovereign States.
- "Ways to Peace." Twenty plans chosen from those submitted for Mr. Edward W. Bok's American Peace Award.
- Graham Wallas, "The Great Society."
- H. G. Wells, "Men Like Gods," "Salvaging Civilization," and other works.

STUDY III.
What Do We Have?

A. Hague Tribunal.

1. What was it intended to accomplish?
2. To what extent has it succeeded?
3. Wherein has it failed? Why?
4. What is to be hoped for from it?
5. How far could it fulfill the requirements you have decided upon under Study II?

B. World Court.

1. How does it differ from the Hague Tribunal in structure, procedure, function, and permanence?
2. What has it accomplished?
3. The following criticisms have been advanced:
 - a. It is a creature of the League of Nations and therefore open to political influence.
 - b. It has no compulsory jurisdiction.
 - c. It has no sanctions or means of enforcing decisions.
 - d. It is ineffective because it has no codified international law from which to adjudicate.
 - e. It does not assure justice to all, especially oppressed peoples and minority groups.

How far do you think each criticism is valid? How far might each, if valid, impair the Court's usefulness?

4. How far can we look to the World Court alone as an adequate form of international organization?

C. League of Nations.

1. How does the League differ in origin, purpose, function and structure from (a) the Hague Tribunal, and (b) the World Court?
2. What specifically has the League accomplished?
3. In what crises has it failed? To what problems has it proved inadequate?
4. What are the causes of its failures?

D. The Protocol and the Security Pacts.

1. How does the Security Pact differ in principle and in method from the Hague Tribunal, the Court, the League?
2. Discuss the statement, "Henceforth all effective international organizations must be on the basis of guarantees of security."

E. What Nations Are NOT Participating in "What We Have"?

What influence does this have on the effectiveness of what we have?

REFERENCES—STUDY III.

- *Report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington, D. C., January, 1925.
- ' Section 2 on the Present World Organization—a number of addresses by foremost authorities.
- Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy." Chap. 3.

B. The World Court.

- *John Bassett Moore, "International Law and Other Essays." Chap. 4—an excellent statement in 90 pages by the American Judge on the panel of the Court.
- Manley O. Hudson, "The Permanent Court of International Justice." Complete study through reprints of addresses and articles.
- Judge Bustamante, "The Permanent Court of International Justice." To be published October 27, 1925, by MacMillan, and will probably sell for \$2.50. Will be a very thorough and complete study of the Court and its work.
- See list of pamphlets on the World Court in the Appendix of this outline.

C. The League of Nations.

- *Philip Marshall Brown, "International Society." Chap. 11 is a brief but excellent impartial statement.
- Jesse Wallace Hughan, "A Study of International Government." Chapters 7 to 12 give a full survey of the questions involved.
- Stanley High, "Europe Turns the Corner." Chap. 7 is a sympathetic discussion in a vivid and popular style.
- Maurice Parmelee, "Blockade and Sea Power." Chap. 19—critical but sympathetic.
- Herbert Adams Gibbons, "America's Place in the World." Chap. 13—Strong anti-League argument.
- Irving Fisher, "League or War." The whole book is valuable. Chap. 6 on "What Is the League?" Chap. 7 answers the objections urged against the League.
- Frances Kellor, "Security Against War." Vol. I, 440 pages, is a complete study of the League from a critical point of view.
- The League of Nations Handbook for 1925 (as well as other League of Nations literature) may be obtained from the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, for 25c.

STUDY IV.

Why Haven't We What We Need?

1. Practically everyone professes a firm belief in adequate international organization. Most people agree that our present international organization is utterly inadequate. Why this discrepancy?
2. List the major obstacles. Then arrange them in the order of their importance.
3. To what extent is each of these obstacles
 - a. natural? or artificial?
 - b. justifiable?
 - c. removable? and if so, how?
4. We have spoken of "what we need" and "what we have." The most important question for us as Americans to face is "What do we really *want*?"
If we *wanted* adequate international organization, could we have it?
5. If the support of public opinion is essential, how may such opinion be created? When created, how can it be made effective?¹
6. How far is America's aloofness from international participation responsible for the fact that "we haven't what we need"?
7. What is the price of securing what we need? The price to the United States? For instance, how far are we willing to go toward a world-wide equalization of standards of living?

¹ This subject will repay more thorough study. The World Court Committee of the C. C. A. is preparing material on the creation and effectiveness of public opinion which it will make available to groups or individuals desiring to go further on this question.

REFERENCES—STUDY IV.

- *Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy." Chap. 4.
- Philip Marshall Brown, "International Society."
 - Chap. 13 on the Imponderables.
 - Chap. 2 on National Interests.
- H. G. Wells, "The Salvaging of Civilization." Chap. 3.
- John Haynes Holmes, "Patriotism Is Not Enough."
- Report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, page 337, "The Press and War and Peace," an address by Bruce Bliven.
- Walter Lippman, "Public Opinion."
- Graham Wallas, "The Great Society."
- Lothrop Stoddard, "The Rising Tide of Color."
- J. H. Oldham, "Christianity and the Race Problem."

STUDY V.

What Should the United States Do?

A. With Reference to the World Court?

1. Enter without reservations?
2. Enter with the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations¹?
3. Enter on the Harmony Peace Program²?
4. Cooperate in forming a new court?
5. Enlarge the Hague Tribunal?
6. Refuse to join under any condition?

B. With Reference to the Outlawry of War?

1. Call a special conference?
2. Enter the World Court under the Harmony Plan?
3. Cooperate with efforts of the League of Nations, such as the Treaties of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol?
4. Enter into regional agreements, such as the proposed Pan-American plan?

C. With Reference to Disarmament?

1. Call a conference of the Powers?
2. Cooperate with the efforts of the League of Nations?
3. Set example by individual action?
4. Adopt Preparedness Program?

D. With Reference to the League of Nations?

1. Cooperate unofficially as at present, with possible extensions?
2. Appoint official representatives on certain League Commissions?
3. Join with reservations?
4. Join without reservations?
5. Cooperate in forming a new Association of Nations?

E. Are There Other Steps That the United States Should Take?

¹ "The Harding-Hughes-Coolidge Reservations" plan is printed in full on page 15.

² The Harmony Peace Program is printed in full on page 16.

REFERENCES—STUDY V.

*Irving Fisher, "America's Interest in World Peace."

The U. S. and the World Court and the League of Nations.

Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy."

Chap. 5. What Shall the U. S. Do About International Organizations?

*Frances Kellor, "Security Against War."

Chap. 39 on the Outlawry of War—the best statement.

See the series of articles and editorials on the Outlawry of War running through the issues of the *Christian Century* for December, 1924, and January and February, 1925.

Kirby Page, "Imperialism and Nationalism."

Chap. 5. What Should the U. S. Do About Imperialism and Nationalism?

Chas. A. Beard, "Cross Currents in Europe."

Chap. 9. Our Relation to Economic Imperialism.

Stanley High, "Europe Turns the Corner."

Chap. 10 on the U. S. and the European Settlement.

Professor Powers, "America Among the Nations."

Herbert Adams Gibbons, "America's Place in the World."

Chap. 14. The Question of Immigration.

Chap. 15. Some Pitfalls to Be Avoided.

Will Irwin, "The Next War."

Chap. 14. What We Might Do.

Chap. 12. The Argument Against Preparedness.

Annals of the American Academy for July, 1925, pages 71-76, William L. Rodgers, Rear Admiral, U. S. N. The Case for Preparedness.

Ramsey MacDonald, "National Defense."

A statement of the Socialist British Labor Party's position on the question of armaments and security.

A. G. Enock, "The Problem of Armaments."

"A Practical Plan for Disarmament," a publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which can be obtained through their office, 405 W. 117th Street, New York City, for 5c.

STUDY VI.

What Can Students Do?

1. In what ways can articulate student opinion on international problems influence public opinion at large?
2. How can American students be more active in influencing our government's foreign policy? If we assume this responsibility, to what extent, if any, can we follow the lead of Chinese, South American, Indian students?
3. How is student opinion on your campus formed? What factors or agencies or methods influence it most?¹
4. What methods can be used to further this specific study on the campus? What organizations or groups are most interested and best fitted to further such a study program? Are they on the job? What is the responsibility of each individual?
5. What efforts are being made in your institution to make the study of international affairs a part of your college curriculum?
6. What contribution can youth groups and other organizations working for peace nationally and internationally make in your program of study and action?
7. What projects are you undertaking, such as conferences, forums, debates, discussion groups, articles and discussions in college papers and magazines, distribution of literature and so on?
8. In what definite ways can you influence the thinking in high schools and communities in your section?
9. What action is your college or your student body going to take in influencing the World Court debate beginning December 17th in the Senate?

¹ See footnote, page 8.

REFERENCES—STUDY VI.

Jesse Wallace Hughan, "A Study of International Government." Chap. 17. The Task Before Us.

H. G. Wells, "Salvaging Civilization." Chap. 17.

Report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War (see Appendix).

Pages 241-244, "Education and International Understanding," Mary Wooley, President, Mt. Holyoke.

Ruth Rouse, "Rebuilding Europe." The part students play.

Sherwood Eddy, "Youth and World Problems." What the Youth of many countries, round the world, are doing.

Periodicals that deal particularly with International Affairs:

Foreign Affairs, 25 West 43rd Street, New York City. Quarterly. \$5.00 a year.

Foreign Affairs, 34, Victoria Street, London S.W.1. Monthly. About \$1.25 a year.

Advocate of Peace, American Peace Society, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. Monthly. \$2.00 a year.

Foreign Policy Association Bulletin, 9 East 45th Street, New York City. Weekly. \$0.50 a year.

Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Weekly. \$2.00 a year. 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

International Conciliation, monthly by the American Association for International Conciliation. \$0.25 a year. 407 West 117th Street, New York City.

League of Nations and World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, by World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston. Bi-monthly. \$0.25 a year.

Manchester Guardian, Guardian Bldg., Manchester, England. Weekly newspaper with full foreign news. 13 shillings a year.

Vox Studentum, Student Friendship Fund, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. Monthly. \$0.60 a year.

The Student World, by the World Student Christian Federation, 16 Boulevard des Philosophes, Geneva, Switzerland. Quarterly. \$0.50 a year.

The World's Youth, published by the World's Boys' Work Committee, 3, Rue General Dufour, Geneva, Switzerland. Monthly. \$1.00 a year.

Much valuable material is carried in other periodicals, such as the *Literary Digest*, *Current History*, *The Christian Century*, *The New Student*, *The Intercollegian*, *The World Tomorrow*.

The following Discussion Courses or Study Outlines may be ordered from the Council of Christian Associations:

Christian Fellowship Among the Nations.—An Aid to Straight Thinking on Our Greatest Problem. Davis and Chamberlain. \$0.25.

International Problems and the Christian Way of Life. \$0.30.

Adventures in World Cooperation. Davis and Poling. \$0.25.

Youth and Renaissance Movements. \$0.25.

Missions and World Problems. The Inquiry. \$0.75.

Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal. \$0.25.

And Who Is My Neighbor? The Inquiry. \$0.75.

Looking Toward a Christian China. \$0.25.

APPENDIX

The following books will be found very valuable in a study of the questions raised in this outline:

Philip Marshall Brown, "International Society; Its Nature and Interests." MacMillan. \$1.50.

"International Law and International Relations." Published by The American Foundation, maintaining the American Peace Award, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York City. \$0.75.

Report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington, D. C., January 18-24, 1925. Distributed by the National League of Women Voters, 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. \$0.50. A large volume of very valuable material.

Ruth Rouse, "Rebuilding Europe," the Student Chapter in Post-War Reconstruction. Council of Christian Associations. \$0.75.

Margaret Wrong, "Ideals and Realities in Europe," a sympathetic study of post-war conditions and problems by a secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation. Council of Christian Associations. \$0.75.

*Kirby Page, "An American Peace Policy." Council of Christian Associations. Paper, \$0.15.

Kirby Page, "Imperialism and Nationalism." Pamphlet Department, Room 505, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. \$0.15.

Kirby Page, "War; Its Causes, Consequences and Cure." Pamphlet Department, Room 505, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. \$0.15.

Sherwood Eddy, "Youth and World Problems." Pamphlet Department, Room 505, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. \$0.10.

The following pamphlets on the World Court may be obtained direct from the publishers, or through the office of the World Court Committee of the C. C. A., Room 706, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City:

From the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. The Permanent Court of International Justice—the Draft Scheme. 5c.

The World Court. Opinions of six prominent men. 5c.

Hearings on the Court, with evidence of prominent men. 5c.

The Work of the Court During Its First Three Years. 5c.

America and the Court. 5c.

Steps Toward Preserving Peace, Elihu Root. 5c.

From the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York City.

The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice, No. 186, May, 1923. 5c.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, John Bassett Moore, No. 197, April, 1924. 5c.

From the National League of Women Voters, 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City.

Information Bulletin Concerning the World Court, in 7 sections. 35c. The World Court, illustrated. 10c.

From the American Peace Award, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Set of three information bulletins on the World Court. Gratis.

From the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, Washington, D. C.

The Harding-Coolidge World Court Measure, by Frederick Libby. Gratis.

Some of the Youth and Other Peace Organizations in America

The Fellowship of Youth for Peace, 104 East 9th Street, New York City.

Corda Fratres Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of America, 305 Dentistry Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

Intercollegiate Peace Association, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

National Student Forum, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Fellowship for Christian Life Service, 1301 Chicago Temple Building, Chicago, Ill.

The Young Friends, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 383 Bible House, New York City.

The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, Room 505, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Foreign Policy Association, 9 East 45th Street, New York City.

The Institute for International Education, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

The American Peace Award, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

World's Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1403 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

The World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

The National League of Women Voters, 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City.

The American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 134 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Peace Association of Friends in America, 615 National Road, West Richmond, Ind.

The Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

HARDING-HUGHES-COOLIDGE WORLD COURT PROPOSAL

Text of the Swanson Resolution, to come before the Senate, December 17th, 1925.

Resolved (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring*), That the Senate advise and consent to the adhesion on the part of the United States to the said protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoined Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in said statute) and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said protocol; subject to the following reservations and understandings which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:

1. That such adhesion shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Covenant of the League of Nations constituting Part I. of the treaty of Versailles.
2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other States, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or for the filling of vacancies.
3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.
4. That the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.
5. That the United States shall be in no manner bound by any advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice not rendered pursuant to a request in which it, the United States, shall expressly join in accordance with the statute for the said court adjoined to the protocol of signature of the same to which the United States shall become signatory.

The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adhesion by the United States to the said protocol.

THE HARMONY PEACE PROGRAM

Thirty leaders of the Peace Movement in America, representing different points of view as to the means of securing international peace, recently made the following proposal:

As a measure directed toward the abolition of war and in order to make the Permanent Court of International Justice a more effective judicial substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes we favor the program embodied in the three following proposals:

1. The immediate adherence of the United States to the Court Protocol, with the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations.

2. Within two years after the adherence by the United States to the Court Protocol, the signatories thereto, including the United States Government, shall formally declare by appropriate governmental action their endorsement of the following basic principles of the outlawry of war and shall call an international conference of all civilized nations for the purpose of making a general treaty embodying these principles.

(a) War between nations shall be outlawed as an institution for the settlement of international controversies by making it a crime under the law of nations. (The question of self-defense against attack or invasion is not involved or affected.)

(b) A code of the international law of peace, based upon the outlawing of war and upon equality and justice between all nations, great and small, shall be formulated and adopted.

(c) When war is outlawed the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be granted affirmative jurisdiction over international controversies between sovereign nations as provided for and defined in the code and arising under treaties.

3. Should such signatories within two years after the adherence of the United States fail to make such declaration and to join in a conference for the purpose of making such general treaty, the United States may in its discretion withdraw its adherence to said Court Protocol; and further should such signatories fail, within five years after the adherence of the United States to said Court Protocol, to make and execute a general treaty embodying in substance the aforesaid principles, the adherence of the United States shall thereupon terminate; but any action of the Court taken in the interim shall remain in full force and effect.

Order in quantities from
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12 copies, \$1.00; 50 copies, \$3.50; 100 copies, \$7.00